261
826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaé. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[443] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
[881] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainiáua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans. Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maránzaankándra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *kwi činga*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair: he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of *kauiš* (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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(16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairuhu disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed KanDwanj, Kamairuhu's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairuhu's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kantsowa's father".

(17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

when an individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long. 276 [423]

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body. [517] [276] [953 827]

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient: then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg. 955 [276]

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach: soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated: he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Flints, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [754]

(19) It hardly need be said that pajés do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Case of Ipewangi

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Ipewangi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw anitãnga but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the anitãnga he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-ori — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipewangi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

Case of Campukwi

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.